#48

15

84th Congress
2d Session

COMMITTEE PRINT

REPORT

OF THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

TO THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-FOURTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

FOR THE YEAR 1956

APPENDIX II

DECEMBER 31, 1956

Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary

UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1957

85270

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APPENDIX II

Portrait of a Master Spy—J. Peters

One Saturday morning in the early summer of 1949 a rotund little Hungarian waddled down the ramp of a New York airport to a waiting KLM airliner.

J. Peters was not leaving the United States willingly, but as he paused at the door of the airplane he flashed a "Cheshire cat" smile over his shoulder.

There was ample cause for self-satisfaction. His 25 years in America had been extremely productive. Only a few hours before, at an intimate little dinner party, a top Communist leader had said of him:

"If I had to search and seek in my mind for any man who made a more significant contribution to the growth and development of the Communist Party in the United States, I could not find such other person."

In appearance Peters hardly seemed to fit that tribute. But under this pudgy frame there dwelt a scheming spirit which was the delight of the masters of the Kremlin.

Peters was about 5 feet 4 inches tall. He had dark, bushy hair, and a moustache. His face, hands, and body were fat and round. He loved good food, took an occasional drink, and did not smoke.[1]

For relaxation the little Hungarian read mystery and detective stories—a true busman's holiday, because Peters, professionally, was the head of Soviet espionage in the United States.

As with all master spies, Peters continues to be a man of mystery, though there is much material on his career. At one time he even appeared before a congressional investigating committee, and a rare photograph of him taken at that hearing is reproduced in these pages. But the information is wispy and at times contradictory. There are gaps.

Much of this is probably due to his use of many aliases during his long career. As a matter of fact, the name J. Peters is itself a pseudonym, though it was the one he went by more than any other of the dozen or more names he used from time to time.

His real name seems to have been Sandor Goldberger, but he also was known at one time or another as Alexander Goldberger, Jack Roberts, Steve Lapin, Pete Stevens, Steve Miller, Isador Boorstein, Blake, Steve Lapur, Alexander Stevens, J. Peter, J. V. Peters, and, of course, J. Peters.

Louis Budenz, former editor of the Communist Daily Worker, referred to Peters as a "man of many names."

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[1] Source material for this sketch may be found in pp. 1483–4514 of pt. 27, Scope of Soviet Activity in the United States.

J. V. Peters

This photo was published August 30, 1948, by the New York Sun with an explanation that he is holding the papers served on him that day by the House Un-American Activities Committee (House Committee on Un-American Affairs)

Sometimes he would change his name abruptly overnight, as illustrated by this excerpt from Budenz' testimony:

"Mr. STRIPLING. Now, early in your testimony you mentioned that you knew J. Peters as the head of the underground movement. Could you elaborate for the committee your knowledge of that activity of J. Peters as a Communist Party functionary?

"Mr. BUDENZ. Yes, sir. You will note in my book, This Is My Story that Mr. Peters appears there, and that I refer to him as the man of many names.

"In fact, I also speak, I think, about his reminding me of the Cheshire cat, or something, because he always had an artificial smile. But what I particularly noted there was his many other names, Steve Miller, Jack Roberts, and many other names within a short period of time.

"Mr. NIXON. Will you name as many of those names as you can remember?

"Mr. BUDENZ. Yes, sir. The thing is, of course, I learned some later, but the names that I recall immediately there in 1936 and 1937 were brought to my attention by the fact that Mr. Peters himself very bureaucratically told me about them; that is, I had to see him frequently on the ninth floor. He was then, I think, supposedly the organization secretary of the party, although nobody knew him to any great degree. When I say 'nobody' most of the rank and file members did not know him.

"I would have to go up there on business, and I would say 'Comrade Peter'—and he said, 'Now, my name is Steve,' and he would be very abrupt about it, 'Steve Miller.' Then, later on, he told me his name was Jack Roberts. I came home and told my wife, 'I'm getting dizzy trying to keep Peters' names before me.' But either then or on other occasions, I learned his name to be Alexander Stevens, I think Alexander Goldberg, and——

"Mr. STRIPLING. Did you know him under the name Isidore Boorstein?

"Mr. BUDENZ. I knew that was his organization name. I learned that from some source in the party, or other. Those are all of the names I can think of for the moment. But there were a number of names during the course of time."

But such an active agent cannot remain a complete enigma. Information gathered by the subcommittee from many sources, and brought together for the first time in our record, allows us to bridge some of the gaps. When the story is pieced together it forms a reasonably comprehensive whole.

There are conflicting accounts of Peters' early life in Hungary. John Lautner, former Communist Party functionary, told the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on June 21, 1956:

"He comes from Hungary. His father was a railway official, and they lived in Czop in the northern part of Hungary, and later on in Debrecen. And he took some law courses in Budapest, and during the war he was a lieutenant in the Austro-Hungarian Army. And prior to his coming to the United States for a number of years he was the regional secretary of the Communist Party in Czechoslovakia. The region under his jurisdiction was what is known as Pod Karpatska Russ, which was at one time part of Hungary, and later on became part of Czechoslovakia."

Peters gave more details of fighting in World War I to Whittaker Chambers, who worked under the master spy as a courier for a Government espionage ring in Washington. The information was given to a congressional committee on August 3, 1948:

"Peters told me at one time that he had been a petty officer in the Austrian Army during World War I. After the Bela Kun revolution in Hungary he was a member of the Soviet Government of Hungary, I think, in the Agricultural Commissariat."

Chambers testified again on August 30, 1948, before a congressional committee:

"Mr. NIXON. Did Mr. Peters ever tell you of any of his experiences—I am attempting to establish by this question——

"Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; occasionally he reminisced, and I remember he told me of his experiences in the First World War when he was prob-

ably a noncommissioned officer on the Serbian front and later on the Russian front and then on the Italian front.

"I remember one incident especially of the Italian campaign. At zero hour they were supposed to advance against very strong Italian lines in the mountains, and the lines were considered so strong that it was feared that the soldiers, the Austrian soldiers, wouldn't advance.

"However, they did, and as they came into the Italian line they found line after line of men dead, the reason being that the Germans who had come up in support of the Austrians had shelled the Italians from beyond the hills, and due to some structure of the terrain the Austrians had not heard the barrage.

"He also told me that he was believed by the soldiers to bear a charmed life, so that during a heavy fire they would cluster around him, endangering themselves and him.

"I remember him telling me that toward the end of the war, when the Austrian armies were crumbling, the first soldiers of the Soviets were appearing, he was called up for some kind of insubordination, I believe, and took his medals and either handed them or tossed them at his superior officer."

This swashbuckling version of J. Peters' war experiences was disputed by Louis Rethy Reed, a fellow Hungarian and one-time Communist colleague of Peters. Reed stated flatly that Peters got out of officers' school too late for any fighting. Furthermore, he cast doubts on Peters' Communist activity in Hungary. In a sworn affidavit to the Internal Security Subcommittee dated July 18, 1956, Reed said:

"Alexander Goldberger was born at Munkacs in north Hungary in the year of 1897. He attended grammar school there. He finished high school at the Calvinist High School in the town cf Sarospatak and entered the Calvinist College in the city of Debrecen, where he studied law. After less than a year of college he was drafted to the army, but by the time he came out of officers' school with the rank of ensign, the war was over.

"He had no part whatsoever in the 1919 Communist uprising. He only began to give vague hints about his activities in Hungary after the actual participants like myself were gone. In fact, Szanto and Lustig related to me some very tall stories he told to the gullible American Communists and wanted me to call his bluff, but by then even such bait was not sweet enough for me to have any more contact with Earl Browder and his central committee."

At any rate, it is known that Peters, or Goldberger, arrived in the United States on February 10, 1924, at New York, for permanent residence.

It did not take him long to swing into action. Almost immediately he appeared at a meeting of the Yorkville branch of the Hungarian Workers Federation, claiming membership in the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

There was a shortage of intellectuals in the party. Peters learned fast and rose fast. Soon he was employed as a writer on the Uj Elore, Hungarian Communist daily. He had been recommended for the job by Louis Rethy Reed.

Reed tells the story in eloquent fashion:

"Scheming was his specialty even in those early days. It was he and James Lustig who convinced me that I have to accept the general

secretaryship of the Hungarian Federation in 1926. He knew quite well that with my affliction (TB) I would not last very long. And when in 1927 I broke down and was advised to take a rest in Arizona, he was elected to be my deputy and act with full powers of my office in my absence.

"And act he did. The general secretary was also in charge of a dummy corporation which controlled the assets of the Uj Elore. With his signature and the signature of a dummy president (who was always controlled by the secretary) all the assets of the paper could be sold.

"Early in 1928 I had a long-distance conversation with Peters. He told me that the Daily Worker went bankrupt in Chicago and unless we take them in and print them for cost they will be unable to publish. I protested, knowing well that we were unable to pay our own printers for weeks at a time and owed them large sums of money. My suggestion was that the Jewish Freiheit take them in, they were on a more solvent basis than we were. True, the Jewish paper had no English type, but I also suggested that we lend them two linotypes for the purpose.

"Peters twisted my suggestion around and reported to the Hungarian Bureau that I favor the merger of the Freiheit and the Elore printing shops. Since it was supposed to be my suggestion it was adopted and before I got wind of the scheme, the Elore building was sold at a loss and the building on Union Square was purchased with a fantastic mortgage the weak Hungarian paper could never pay off. All the assets of the Hungarian paper were signed over in my absence by my worthy deputy to a new dummy corporation controlled by the central committee of the Communist Party. Lovestone, who was secretary of the central committee, washed his hands and told me it was a voluntary action by the "generous" Hungarian comrades. And he also reminded me that Peters had full authority to act in my absence. And Lovestone, the innocent, began to pay off. When in the fall of 1928 I returned to New York—hopping mad—there was little I could do to undo the damage. I resigned the secretaryship and at the suggestion of Lovestone, Peters was elected in my place. Soon Peters also managed the merged printshop and even with his very poor English began to get important American assignments.

"Then came the open letter of Stalin early in 1929. With the rest of the Lovestoneites I also left the Party and went west to nurse my TB. Peters, the opportunist, doublecrossed his mentor Lovestone and stayed on with the Foster group. And Earl Browder was also grateful and began to pay off.

"In 1932 I took my last look at Moscow. The idea came from Browder, who thought that with a little bait he can get me back into the party. My idea was quite different. I was sure it will cure me for good. I had to report to Clarence Hathaway, who at that time was the American representative at the Comintern. To my great surprise it was my high-riding former deputy, Joe Peters, who acted as representative in Hathaway's absence, who was called back to the States for some hurried conference.

"He was very generous with me. He told me that the reason he did not hit back when I slapped him for the printshop swindle was because he always loved me. He lived in the Hotel Lux on Twerskaya;

in the same room I occupied when Russia got me out of the Hungarian prison in 1922. His roommate was Manya, an ugly talkative female I used to know in Los Angeles. Both of them attended the Marx-Lenin Institute, but Manya told me it was only a cover for the espionage school they were really attending.

"Both of them worked on me to become a good boy again. But, after my return, I resigned the editorship of the Uj Elore. I organized an illegal convention of the Hungarians in Cleveland, Ohio, and exposed the theft of the assets of the Hungarian paper. Szanto, Dr. Gyetvai, Lustig, Weinstock, and others stood with me and were disciplined by Browder but later were lured back and given union assignments where they did their most damage to the tolerant country to which I have been loyal ever since."

This cynical ladder climbing was admitted by Peters years later to Chambers, who tells of it in his book Witness:

"Deals were freely made to win away key figures to the new regime. Some years later, J. Peters was to boast to me that, for a price, he had brought over the Hungarian section of the Communist Party to the Stalinists. The price, he explained complacently, had been his appointment as chief of the whole underground section of the American Communist Party."

In his new position Peters was one of the 2 or 3 most powerful men in the party. He was not long in putting to use his new authority.

"He was also a lurking figure of fate in the lives of millions of Americans who did not dream that he existed," Chambers points out in his book.

Peters' devotion to the Communist cause is reflected even in his family life. He was married twice, according to available information, each time to active Communists.

His first wife was Lilly Zirtes, who left him in the early 1930's to marry another Communist, Rudy Baker, who was district organizer in Detroit, Mich., and later representative of the Communist International in Canada.

By 1936, Peters had married Ann Rollins, also known as Ann Silver, a party functionary who later on became a section organizer for Communist Party membership in the United Office and Professional Workers of America.

Peters became an organizational specialist. As a Communist theorist, he was an instructor at the National Training School of the Hungarian National Bureau of the Communist Party in 1930 at 32 Union Square in New York. Peters worked out of offices on the 9th floor of 35 East 12th Street, New York, which was the national headquarters of the Communist Party.

In 1932, as related by Reed, Peters went to Moscow and served as acting representative to the Comintern.

His activities continued to expand. They were, in fact, so widespread that a concise listing is difficult. Chambers, however, gave an excellent description in his book:

"Peters, of course, never sat down and disclosed to me the exact dimensions or the complex detail of his invisible empire. But I could gain some idea of its scope from the practical questions that from time to time he raised with me. They ranged from personnel problems, involving men who were highly placed in the State and Treasury

Departments, to a problem of spontaneous sabotage by the Communist secret cell in the airplane-propeller-casting room of an aluminum company. He was in touch with Communists in the Narragansett Torpedo Base, in the Electric Boat Co. (submarines for the U. S. Navy), in the Department of Justice, and in Hollywood, whose thriving underground made him ecstatic. He was also in direct touch with a number of separate Soviet underground apparatuses. For he operated a special apparatus of his own for the wholesale procurement of birth certificates and naturalization papers and for tampering with official records—all a part of the important business of securing fraudulent passports."

Effective espionage workers must have skills, and Peters set about to provide them. While serving as district organizer for West Virginia in 1936, John Lautner was instructed, along with other functionaries, to meet with Peters.

The little Hungarian gave them instructions in the use of codes, and provided a number of different addresses in the Bronx and in Brooklyn where reports were to be sent instead of directly to Party headquarters.

Paul Crouch, district organizer for the Communist Party in the Carolinas from 1934 to 1937, and later in Tennessee, told a congressional committee on May 6, 1949:

"Peters gave me specific instructions regarding communications; the use of the codes under which confidential messages were to be sent; private addresses; details as to receipts; instructions as to the selection of parallel underground apparatus, ready at all times to take over; alternate Party organizers; the selection of a place in the country where the district organizer could hide out until contact was established with him, if he was not picked up; instructions as to the storing of both large mimeographs and a small collapsible affair which could be carried in a briefcase; instructions as to how to make gelatin duplicating devices in case of emergency; and similar measures; also plans for the division of the Party into groups of five, the groups being prepared to act as branches if the Party was outlawed."

Lautner said Peters was always concerned with developing in the Communist Party groups of young Party members who could uproot themselves and, at the service of the Party, be assigned into basic industries where they could become workers.

"He always undertook to indoctrinate young Party members in how to function in these factories, how to carry out Party activities. He was one of the most effective colonizers of the Communist Party," Lautner said.

Another specialty of Peters was securing of false passports for Communists traveling abroad. There is evidence that he made several trips abroad using a passport under an assumed name. For instance, his trip to Moscow in 1931 was under the name of Isidore Boorstein.

The usual technique was to obtain from birth records the names of persons who died in infancy. The Communist would then request a duplicate birth certificate for that name, which would be used to secure the passport.

A vital procedure in the underground apparatus was constant evaluation of personnel. To accomplish this, Peters demanded frequent biographies from functionaries. Lautner said he filled out 5 such exten-

sive questionnaires during his 16 years in the party. Peters apparently was in charge of the biographies, which helped Party leadership to place cadres in the positions where they would be most useful.

Peters also had charge of security at plenums of the national committee of the Communist Party, U. S. A. Each man and woman attending received admission cards, which were carefully checked at the entrance.

Even Hollywood was visited by the omnipresent Mr. Peters. In 1942 he journeyed there on a fund-raising venture, aimed to securing the release from prison of Party Chief Earl Browder, then languishing in a Federal prison for using one of Peters' false passports for travel to the Soviet Union. His trip was reported to have been successful.

An attempt was made by Peters to extend the influence of Communists into the Armed Forces. Lautner relates that he attended a meeting with other section organizers at Camp Unity in June 1935 which was addressed by Peters, and attended by Gerhart Eisler:

"At this meeting, the report was given by J. Peters himself, and the gist of the report was that we must make a sharp turn in extending our activities and to begin to pay attention to Party at work, Party activities in the Armed Forces. In his report, he stated there was a survey made of how many Young Communist League members and how many Party members the Party has in the National Guard in New York City; how many armories there are in New York City and where these members drill and train as members of the National Guard. Also, that these members of the National Guard, Party members, will be organized into groups and we will have to pay attention to them to assist them with an outside organization, with Party members organized outside of the armories, who would, on drill nights, fraternize with the National Guard members and distribute literature to them and associate with them, become acquainted with them and bring them closer to the Party.

"He also said that this work will be very closely checked and it will be followed up. It was done so. The person who was in charge of this meeting, of this phase of the Party activity in New York, was known to me as Jim Forrest, who later became the district organizer of the Communist Party in St. Louis.

"At this meeting, Gerhart Eisler, in order to impress the necessity and the need for this type of activity, pointed out one of the grave errors the German Party committed when in the early Weimar Party days, the Communist Party completely neglected activities in the German and military organization known at that time as the Stahlheimers, which was controlled by Hugenberger, one of the industrialists. Because of the neglect of this work on the part of the Party, this military formation was the main strength later on of the Hitler organization, military organization."

Eisler, of course, was the American representative of the Communist International—the liaison between Moscow and the Communist Party, U. S. A.

But of all Peters' projects, the one which delighted his soul more than any other was an underground movement in Washington which penetrated to the highest levels of Government.

He once told Budenz that "the Communist Party is like a submerged submarine; the part that you see above water is the periscope; but the part underneath is the real Communist organization; that is, the conspiratorial apparatus."

The Washington operation fit that description perfectly.

It all began when Harold Ware, son of a noted Communist, went to Washington about 1933. He was chiefly interested in farm activities. Once there, however, he made a rather interesting discovery.

Whittaker Chambers tells what happened:

"* * * Somewhat breathlessly, Harold Ware reported to J. Peters, the head of the underground section of the American Communist Party, with whom Hall was in close touch, that the possibilities for Communist organization in Washington went far beyond farming.

"I do not know how many of those young men and women were already Communists when Ware met them and how many joined the Communist Party because of him. His influence over them was personal and powerful. But about the time that Ulrich and Charlie were initiating me into the Gallery and invisible ink, Harold Ware and J. Peters were organizing the Washington prospects into the secret Communist group now known by Ware's name—the Ware group.

"Under oath, before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, Lee Pressman, in 1951, testified that he, Witt, Abt, and Kramer had been Communists and members of this group. He also gave an account of its organization which may well bear a sketchy resemblance to its first formative stage. But, by 1934, the Ware group had developed into a tightly organized underground, managed by a directory of seven men. In time it included a number of secret subcells whose total membership I can only estimate—probably about 75 Communists. Sometimes they were visited officially by J. Peters who lectured them on Communist organization and Leninist theory and advised them on general policy and specific problems. For several of them were so placed in the New Deal agencies (notably Alger Hiss, Nathan Witt, John Abt, and Lee Pressman) that they were in a position to influence policy at several levels.

"They were so well-placed that the thought had occurred to Comrade Peters, and no doubt to others, that such human material could be used more effectively, and moreover, that it was poor organization to leave so many promising Communists in one large group where everybody knew everybody else. Peters proposed to separate the most likely ones (an almost invariable underground practice) and place them in another distinct underground—a parallel apparatus—much more rigorously segregated and subdivided. When advisable, other Communists would be added to this special apparatus from other undergrounds in Washington. For the Ware group was not the only Communist underground in the capital. This task Peters assigned to me."

A number of cells were set up, each cell being led by a man who formed part of a committee and an underground committee which met regularly at the home of Henry Collins in St. Matthews Court.

Some time in 1934 Peters introduced Chambers to Ware, and eventually to all members of the underground committee.

Peters was overjoyed. It was the ideal situation for a master spy. Here is how Chambers described it in his superb style:

"The first time I met Peters in Washington we walked from the Union Station to a downtown restaurant. In New York Peters' manner had always been that of a minor commissar—a little more human than the breed, for he had a sense of humor—but reserved, innately distrustful, secretive. In Washington he was like a king returned to his kingdom—suddenly gay and expansive. He enlarged on the party's organizational and human resources in Washington, mentioning, among others, the man whose name he always pronounced 'Awl-jur'—with a kind of drawling pleasure, for he took an almost parental pride in Alger Hiss. Then, with a little inclusive wave of his pudgy hand, he summed up. 'Even in Germany under the Weimar Republic,' said Peters, 'the Party did not have what we have here.' "

Then, according to Chambers, came a new development:

"J. Peters, whom I was seeing regularly, gave the Washington activity a sudden new turn. I have already mentioned his plans for financing the American Communist underground with the help of the Russians. One day, by way of broaching this idea, he observed that, until the first 5-year plan began in the Soviet Union (circa 1929), the Communist International had subsidized the American Communist Party. During the rigors of the 5-year plan, that subsidy had been stopped, and the American Communist Party had been ordered to support itself. 'The beggars of the Machavaya,' as Comrade Stalin sometimes graciously called the representatives of the foreign Communist Parties (after the Moscow address of the Communist International), would now have to beg elsewhere. This, said Peters, had worked great hardships. Therefore, he had contrived a plan whereby the Russian Communists might continue to finance the American Communist Party—for services rendered. Through the Ware group and others, Peters had access to Government documents. He proposed to connect me with the right people who would turn such documents over to me. Peters would provide me with a Leica camera. I would copy the documents, return them to whomever gave them to me and turn the copies over to Bill. If he were interested, Bill would pay for them. Peters appealed to me, as an American Communist, to cooperate."

Chambers cooperated, naturally, and he found a willing confederate in Alger Hiss, a bright young attorney:

"I had reference to an episode that occurred while Alger was living at P Street. His position with the munitions investigation had become so strong that he himself proposed to me that he could use the authority of the Senate committee to secure confidential documents from the State Department, which I could then photograph and turn over to the Communist Party.

"I discussed the problem with Peters. He was again excited by the possibility of selling material to Bill. I told Alger to go ahead. In the name of the Senate Munitions Investigating Committee, he requested certain documents from the State Department. The State Department was reluctant, but, in view of the popular excitement about the committee's investigation, no doubt thought it advisable to release a few documents. These Alger brought home. I photographed them in his P Street house."

Members of the Washington underground continued their upward climb, sometimes boosted by fellow Party members. Chambers listed the most important members in his book. They are:

John Abt, attorney in the Department of Agriculture, Works Progress Administration, Justice Department, and chief counsel of the Senate Committee on Labor and Education (La Follette committee).

Solomon Adler, Treasury Department representative in China; American representative on the American-British-Chinese Stabilization Fund.

Virginius Frank Coe, Assistant Director, and later Director, Division of Monetary Research, Treasury Department; financial adviser or consultant to the Federal Security Administrator; Executive Secretary of the Joint War Production Committee of the United States and Canada, and assistant to the Executive Director of the Board of Economic Warfare; Assistant Administrator, Foreign Economic Administration; Secretary, National Advisory Council on International and Monetary Problems; Technical Secretary-General, Bretton Woods Monetary Conference; special assistant to United States Ambassador in London.

Henry H. Collins, Jr., National Recovery Administration; Department of Agriculture; executive secretary, Subcommittee on Technological Mobilization of the Senate Military Affairs Committee.

Lauchlin Currie, Administrative Assistant to the President; Deputy Administrator, Foreign Economics Administration.

Laurence Duggan, chief, Latin American Division, State Department.

Harold Glasser, Treasury Department; adviser, loaned to Government of Ecuador; adviser, loaned to War Production Board; adviser on North African Affairs in Algiers, North Africa; adviser to Secretary of State at Moscow Conference in March 1946; member of the United States delegation to the first and second UNRRA council meetings.

Alger Hiss, attorney, Department of Agriculture; Senate Special Committee Investigating the Munitions Industry; Justice Department; State Department, Director, Office of Special Political Affairs; Secretary General, United Nations.

Donald Hiss, attorney, Labor Department; State Department.

Irving Kaplan, Associate Director, National Research Project, Works Progress Administration; Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice; principal research economist, Office of the Administrator, Federal Works Agency; head economic analyst, Statistics Division, Industrial and Commodity Research Branch, War Production Board; head program progress analyst, Executive Office of the Chairman, Office of Progress Reports, War Production Board; Director, Programs and Reports Staff, Office of the Administrator, Foreign Economic Administration; economic adviser, Foreign Funds Control Section, United States Control Council, American Military Government in Germany.

Charles Kramer, National Labor Relations Board; Office of Price Administration; Senate Committee on War Mobilization; Senate Committee on Wartime Health and Education; Senate Committee on Education and Labor.

Eleanor Nelson, Labor Department; treasurer, United Federal Workers, a union of Government employees.

Victor Perlo, head of branch in Research Section, Office of Price Administration; War Production Board; Monetary Research, Treasury Department.

Lee Pressman, attorney, Department of Agriculture; Works Progress Administration.

Philip Reno, analyst, economist, Social Security Board; Farm Credit Administration; Office for Emergency Management.

Vincent Reno, Aberdeen Proving Grounds; mathematical assistant to Colonel Zornig.

Abraham George Silverman, Director, Bureau of Research and Information Services, Railroad Retirement Board; Economic Adviser and Chief of Analysis and Plans, Assistant Chief of Air Staff, Materiel and Services, Air Force.

Julian Wadleigh, economist, State Department.

Harry Dexter White, Assistant Secretary, Treasury Department; Executive Director, International Monetary Fund; Treasury representative with the Interdepartmental Lend-Lease Committee, Canadian-American Joint Economic Committee, Executive Committee on Commercial Policy, Executive Committee and Board of Trustees of the Export-Import Bank, Interdepartmental Committee on Inter-American Affairs, National Resources Committee, Price Administration Committee, Committee on Foreign Commerce Regulations, Interdepartmental Committee on Postwar Economic Problems, Committee on Trade Agreements, National Munitions Control Board, Committee on International Relief, Board of Economic Warfare, Executive Committee on Economic Foreign Policy, Liberated Areas Committee, Office of Strategic Services Advisory Committee, United States Commercial Corporation, Interdepartmental Committee on Planning for Coordinating the Economic Activities of United States Civilian Agencies in Liberated Areas.

Nathan Witt, attorney, Department of Agriculture; secretary, National Labor Relations Board.

* * * * * * *

Peters was to maintain his control over the Washington underground until after World War II when Whittaker Chambers—a reformed Communist—finally got his chance to tell his story before a congressional committee.

By 1947 Peters was hiding from the immigration authorities. In 1948 when the pumpkin papers came to light, his empire crumbled.

But he was still audacious enough to instruct John Lautner to plot with Nathan Witt to intimidate Chambers just before the story broke. Here is Lautner's account:

"Mr. LAUTNER. Yes. I was told by Peters, a day or two before the pumpkin story broke, to see Nathan Witt. I went up to Nathan Witt's office and was introduced to Lee Pressman, another lawyer there, and then I and Nathan Witt went downstairs. Near the building was a bar and there he told me——

"Mr. MANDEL. Who told you?"

"Mr. LAUTNER. Nathan Witt. That we must find some means by which we could intimidate Whittaker Chambers. He expressed his views that Whittaker Chambers is easily intimidated.

"He suggested finding where he worked at Radio City in the Time offices and if he would only send him a bouquet of flowers or lilies, like that, he would know the Party is keeping an eye on him and he may stop talking. When I left Nathan Witt I got $100 from him and I assigned a Party organizer in transit from Brooklyn to follow up this suggestion of Nathan Witt. The Party organizer came back

to me the next day saying that Whittaker Chambers was not around the Time offices. He was somewhere down in Maryland.

"The next day the pumpkin story broke. Nathan Witt called me up at my residence and told me to drop everything, not to do anything in relation to the project that we were discussing. The next Saturday morning, I think it was a day later, he came down and I gave him back the money. I met him on 22d Street on 7th Avenue and gave the money back to Nathan."

At the time Peters gave these instructions he was "lying low" in one of a succession of temporary hiding places in the New York area. In the summer of 1947 he had stayed in Lautner's apartment. But he made the mistake of driving to upstate New York, where he was picked up by immigration officials. Shortly afterward, Peters went underground.

In 1948 Lautner was instructed by John Williamson to again assume the task of hiding Peters. Thereafter Peters skipped from hiding place to hiding place until the Chambers story broke. At that time Peters was on a farm near Easton, Pa.

Shortly after, the Immigration and Naturalization Service asked that Peters be produced, since he was on bond.

Peters appeared before a grand jury which had heard the testimony of Whittaker Chambers.

On August 30, 1948, Peters testified before a congressional committee in New York. He answered only insignificant questions, invoking the fifth amendment in refusing to answer all others.

A warrant for Peters' deportation was issued April 12, 1949. On May 3, 1949, an order was entered granting him voluntary departure from the United States. Three days later he boarded the airliner for his native Hungary.

Prior to his departure, his wife, Ann Rollins, called at the Hungarian Embassy and picked up a passport for him.

Lautner heard from him once more when Peters wrote for clippings about the Chambers' testimony and Hiss trial in 1949. In his letter he said his assignment in Hungary was to supervise all publications going to Hungarian Communist Party members and sympathizers throughout the world.

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